

533 Another individual, who knows songs well, also composes them; one he made just before the 1919 dance was not adopted because it was not considered pleasing. The song leader customarily carries the drum.

527 In the middle of the last century it was customary to hold this dance
535 during two nights. It was also danced in the daytime in the same form, except that at midday two women, who carried eagle tail feathers in each hand, stamped about inside the circle, waving their fans up and down with a pumping motion.

[30] At that time men sometimes wore a fox or coyote skin pendent from the back of the belt similar to that worn by Rock Jones in the 1918 dance. The weeds similarly worn by women in the dance of the next year were "just in fun."

177 There can be no question that this dance antedates both the Cali-
535 fornia ghost dance of 1870-72 and the revival of 1889, although the latter as it appeared among the Plains tribes is clearly the same dance.¹

769 The particular form in which the ghost dance of 1889 took root among the Havasupai has been described by a Hopi visitor who saw it in July, 1891.² After a general head washing, the dance was given, as described above, for four days. Two eagle tail feathers had been tied to the top of the central pole, to which a man would climb, clinging until exhausted, when he would slide insensible to the foot of the pole. On being revived by the shamans he described his visit to the dead who were soon to return. The occasion is well remembered by my informant. It was practiced only one year, being discontinued because they did not like it. All the men who climbed the pole died soon after. At that time they heard of a
177 Paiute shaman, named Panamántá (Panamint?), living near St. George,
769 Utah, who preached the doctrine that the dead, who had instructed him
775 to so inform the people, were to return to life. A delegation went with the Walapai to be instructed; two of them are still living. The Havasupai accepted this doctrine and still believe it according to Sinyella. Manakadja said that the Paiute gave resurrection as the reason for burial in place of cremation, but they lied, for the dead did not return. Possibly, the occasion of the women falling into a trance within the dance circle, seen by James about 1900, represents a recrudescence of the ghost dance.³

MASKED DANCE

535 A performance of masked dancers (*gidji'nd*, both dance and participant) was discontinued twenty years ago. Anyone could inaugurate the dance, which was open to all men. It was given for good fortune, rain,

¹Mooney, (b), 920, 921.

²Ibid, a11, a12.

³James, (b), 255.

RELIGION

Religious matters occupy but a minor place in Havasupai life. 771
 Ceremonialism is meager and interest in the supernatural is neither ex- [796]
 tensive nor developed in systematic form.

The paragraphs which follow express religious notions as they are
 known to a layman. It is regrettable that it was not possible to obtain [124]
 the viewpoint of the shaman. Of the two living at the time of my visits,
 one died during the second winter; the other is quite deaf.

SOULS, SPIRITS AND SHAMANISM

Each human has a soul in his heart; the word, *yuwaffu*, refers to both 774
 soul and heart. It leaves his body at death, but not when he dreams or
 lies unconscious (*k'edjampik*, a little dead). More explicitly, when a
 man dreams that he is in a foreign land, he sees (or feels) his fleshly
 self as actor, not his soul. To be sure when he wakes he is lying where he
 fell asleep, he is fully aware that he has been dreaming, yet he offers no
 explanation why others saw his slumbering form when he thought him-
 self in another place.

The soul of a dead man may appear as a ghost (*dmtye'*); this is short 775
 and like a shadow. Shamans alone commonly see ghosts, or rather, their
 familiar spirits seek them out at night and report their doings, yet others [787]
 may see them. When a ghost appears to a man it is a portent that a
 relative will soon die, or else it is to cause the man himself to sicken.
 Ghosts are said always to be malignant; a man who heard and saw one
 would sicken that very day and fail fast. People are afraid to go about [769] ●
 alone at night, especially near the burial ground, which at any time is
 dangerous, for fear ghosts will frighten or seize them. Yet the
 following instances show mere sight or contact is not in itself harmful.

Susie saw one near her camp one night. He looked like an ordinary mortal;
 he was bare-headed. He passed on down the canyon. In the morning, the whole
 family examined the spot but found no footprints.

Arthur saw a ghost in the brush at the head of the creek. He looked like a man,
 except that his head was much larger.

Pete also saw one. He met him near dawn in Lee Canyon. The ghost said that
 he wanted Pete to dismount and sit down to talk with him, so he did so. Pete nodded
 and fell into a dose. When it was nearly daylight, the ghost said, "It is light now;
 let us go," and he went ahead. When the ghost was twenty feet away, Pete thought
 he would keep up with him and talk, but the faster he whipped his horse, the more the
 ghost drew away from him. The ghost led him along a trail following a ledge that

*The word *kutajiddid* was also given for ghost in an association test.

however, half the crop only is cut down and burned; the remainder goes ⁷⁶⁸ to the survivors. Fruit trees may be owned independently of the land on ⁴²⁸ which they stand. The owner may make a dying wish that they be out ^[763] down and burned.

Mourning may be continued by a widow for a half year or longer ⁷⁶⁵ before she re-marries, though some marry within a few months. During ^[587] this period she takes no particular interest in her appearance.

There are no mourning ceremonies (cf. the Walapai mourning, p. 267). In the case of Fred's death in 1919, however, most of the tribesmen met to wait for an hour or so a week after he was buried. This is ^[177] said to be the first time that there has been a mourning ceremony "like the Walapai", but there was no dancing, etc. The so-called Mohave dance (p. 267) has been taken over from the Walapai mourning ceremony, but it is not used in mourning.

No offerings are made to the dead. There is no great repugnance to ⁷⁶⁹ talking about them, but they do not like to do so freely. They never go near the burial ground, never acceded to my request to visit it, and always took my hints at searching for myself somewhat amiss. Mr. Gender, the ^[76] former agent, has noted that they are quite suspicious of the circumstances of death occurring away from the house.

COMPARATIVE NOTES

Two methods of disposing of the dead are in vogue in this general ¹⁷¹ area, cremation and burial. These have well-defined areas of distribu- ⁷⁶⁴ tion. The first area of cremation covers western Arizona, southern California, and the peninsula. This includes the Havasupai, Walapai, Yavapai, Tonto Apache, Yuma-Apache, Apache-Yuma, Mohave, Maricopa, Yuma, Cahuilla, Serrano,¹ Luiseno, Diegueno, and the people throughout Baja California (or at least most of them²). Kroeber's map³ showing the distribution of the practice in southern California includes Cupeño, Juaneño, Gabriellino, and Fernandeno, for whom I have no data. The Moapa and Shivwits Paiute on the margin of this area both cremate and bury. The Pima, who normally bury, cremate those killed on the warpath, and the Navaho sometimes burn the body with the lodge. The Zuni now bury and have been doing so for some time, but Castañeda recorded that in 1540 they cremated.⁴

¹Information from Doctor W. D. Strong.

²Curtis, II, 52, 72, 83, 92, 108, 114, 117; Bourke, (c), 201; Corbuser, 227, 337; Janes, (c), 148; Kroeber, (a), 241; Bourke, (a), 164; Allen, 615; Russell, (d), 202; Bartlett, II, 202; Crenomy (1923) states that the Maricopa bury; Trippel, 262; Huxley, 343; Davis, (c), 94, 99; Sparkman, 226; Kroeber (f), note 13; Baughert (1907) gives burial for Baja California.

³Kroeber, (c), 295.

⁴Lowie, (f), 278; Russell, (d), 194; Curtis, II, 10, 110; Hrdlicka, (c), 45; Crenomy (1923) gives cremation as the universal practice of the Pima; Lipp, 49; Stevenson, M. C., (b), 205; Winship, 518.

[Text continues on p. 295]

In a myth, told as a Yavapai tale, the corpse is poked with poles to make it burn faster and Coyote steals the only unconsumed part, the heart. This is not a Havasupai custom, but is recorded for the Diegueño, who poke the ashes and heart, the Luiseño, who prod badly and heart, "the last consumed";¹ while among the Southern Maklu, those of Bear River poke the corpse with poles and those of American River pass the last unconsumed lump from hand to hand.² At an even greater distance the Klamath use poles similarly and hold that the heart is the last consumed.

The Walapai mourning ceremony (p. 267) and the Mohave dance of the Havasupai which is derived from it offer points of comparative interest.³ This ceremony is but one form taken by the widely distributed Californian mourning anniversary. It is known to the Moapa and Shivwits Palute, Walapai, Mohave, Maricopa, Yuma, Cahuilla, Diegueño, Luiseño, and the Indians to the north of them, Cupeño, San Miguel Salinan, Yokuts, Miwok, Yokai Pomo, Southern and Northern Maklu, and Washo.⁴ Presumably the Havasupai mourning introduced in 1919 is to be equated to these. In general this is a commemorative occasion at which the mourners weep, dance, and sing, the crowd is harangued, and much is made of the burning of clothing, food, baskets, and the like. Some of these tribes go further, burning images of the dead, namely Yuma, Cahuilla, Diegueño, Cupeño, Luiseño⁵ and the Indians to the north of them, Yokuts, the Miwok on the lower Tuolumne River, the Southern Maklu south of the American River, and the Maklu of the Sacramento Valley and foothills when the dead are members of the Secret society or women of wealth and importance. I have no data for the northern Shoshoneans of southern California. But if they had the mourning ceremony there would be a continuous area of distribution.⁶

It is possible to suggest some relations of these ceremonies, provided my interpretation of the discrepancies is correct. First, it will be noted that these ceremonies are found only among tribes who practise cremation universally or in part: they have in fact a similar though less extensive

¹Faye, (a), 14; Davis, (c), 96.

²Powers, 229: "A long pole was used 'to scrape off the flesh'" (Faye, 37.)

³For the latter see above, p. 270.

⁴Lewis, (i), 279; Curtis, (i), 52, 70, 83, 92, 114, 117; Kroeber, (a), 241; Allen, 618; Davis, (a), 11; (c), 96, 100; Trapp, 8; Hooper, 343; Kroeber, (a), 65; Du Bois, (a), 625 ff.; (c), 100, 103, 148; Sparkman, 220; Mason, J. A., (a), 168; Powers, 164, 321, 328, 353-359, 364, 391; Dixon, (a), 215-220; Barrett, (b), 9.

⁵The image and clothes-burning are described separately by Sparkman (220) but not by Davis or Du Bois.

⁶This mourning ceremony is unknown to the Yana, Achumawi, and Shasta (Dixon, (b), 230). Klamath, to the Athapascans of northwestern California, Yuki, and Pomo, although among the last we must except the Yokai on the basis of Powers' account (Kroeber, (d), 84; (e), 343; Powers, 164) and to the Northwestern Wintun (Barrett, (c), 436). In Arizona it is apparently unknown to the Yavapai and Pima (Corbinier, 336; Russell, (d), 193).

171 distribution than cremation. The mourning ceremony is essentially a
 764 commemorative repetition of cremation in which clothing and other
 765 objects are burned. To be sure, this is not specified for the Moapa,
 769 Shivwits, the northern neighbors of the Luiseno, Miwok, and Yokai,
 but our references to these are of the briefest.

171 It might be doubted that these ceremonies are the same since they
 are held at various intervals. Many of them are referred to as occurring
 765 annually (Walapai, Mohave, Yuma, Cahulla, Yokuts, Miwok, Southern
 769 Maidu, and Northern Maidu of the Sacramento Valley and foothills,
 and the Washo). Other ceremonies, such as the Luiseno "clothes-
 burning" and the Salinan are held a year after death; that of the
 Northeastern Maidu one or two years after death, being repeated the
 following year; the Cupeño every five years for four or five dead or for
 all who died since the last ceremony; while the Mohave mourning occurs
 after a year or at intervals of several years. For some of the other
 groups we are merely told that it occurs shortly after death; a few days
 among the Havasupai, Maricopa, Salinan, and Moapa, and but a few
 months among the Yokai and the Miwok when important men are
 concerned. I think it is obvious that, with the possible exception of
 those cases where the mourning follows on the heels of cremation, com-
 memorative ceremonies in which the whole group participates which
 occur soon after the death of some individual would be described as re-
 occurring annually. The Walapai are a case in point; my information is
 that it may occur at any time, so Curtis is justified in stating that it
 occurs every year. In other words, it seems that with the exception
 noted these are strictly comparable. The real problem lies in what sort
 of group performances these are. Whether they occur only when there
 are recent dead to mourn or once a year and at a specified time, regard-
 less of the occurrence of deaths, our scanty data fail to indicate.

The Diegueño, Luiseno, and Cupeño forms, all three image cere-
 monies, are held at intervals of several years. This is apparently evi-
 dence for the transmission of this trait. The Mohave and Northeastern
 Maidu too hold the mourning rites at intervals of several years, but this
 is due to their anniversary being held for notable men alone. Social
 prominence of the dead also figures in other tribes; the Maricopa and
 possibly the Yokai Pomo hold the performance for prominent men
 alone, while the Miwok have a special ceremony for such a few months
 after death, and the Maidu (valley and foothills groups) then add the
 image burning for them. These do not seem significant similarities;
 simply that certain tribes have the commemoration only when notables
 die or they have special features in connection with such deaths.

Walapai and Yuma construct a shade for the occasion, which is burned with the clothing or images; the Cahuilla and Diegueño burn a house. The Luisefio also burn a house but it is not clear that this is a specially built structure.¹

The property of the Salinan that is to be burned, like that of the Maidu and some of that of the Yuma, is hung on poles. The people north of the Luisefio erected a pole with baskets at the top to be reached by climbing; it is not stated that this is burned. This suggests the Havasupai pole-climbing introduced as part of the Ghost dance (p. 205).

In brief, to suggest the development of the mourning ceremony, it is based on cremation; essentially a repetition of that practice. There is at least a tendency to make it a regularly recurring commemoration, but the Maricopa, Mohave, Yokala Pomo, and Northern Maidu have taken it over for use only in connection with their important men, and the last two, like Diegueño, Luisefio, and Cupeño, have confined it to longer intervals. The Miwok have elaborated by giving a special ceremony for important men, but the chief elaboration in the area is the addition of the images. That these were added to a previously diffused clothes-burning ceremony is probable: else why the burning of both clothing and images where the images occur? It is not possible to say which group first made images, but we note that those of the southern Californian tribes are more realistic.

I am assuming that this ceremony is not related to certain observances which occur further north, although this is a possibility. A periodical lament, particularly for dead chiefs, occurs in the early spring among the Sahaptin at Priest Rapids on the middle Columbia River. The Shuswap have a feast on the grave a year after the death, while the Upper Thompson re-bury the bones of the wealthy yearly. (Re-burial is frequent in this area.) Carved images of the dead are erected on the graves by the Upper and Lower Thompson, Lillooet, a people near the Cascades of the Columbia, and some on Puget Sound.² These cases are more likely to be special forms of grave post such as are commonly erected by Northwest Coast peoples than images of the Californian type. Yet it must be kept in mind that these occur, at least in part, in an area of cremation also.

¹Davis, (a), 100, 108 ff.

²Murray, (b), 720; Ross, (a), 645; Telt, (a), 329, 335; (b), 373; (Hill) does not make it clear whether the Puget Sound Indians fabricated effigies or carved them.

Death

The customs pertaining to death and disposal of the dead were reported by James (1905, 259-64) for the turn of the century and by Spier (1928, 267-9, 292-3) for a period about 20 years later. Their accounts, together with my recent observations, provide rather detailed documentation for abandonment of cremation in favor of burial and establishment of a different mourning ceremony by diffusion from neighboring tribes and assimilation of certain ideas from white contact. The Mohave dance which Spier saw being practiced is now performed as a regular feature of the funeral complex, and I participated in such an all night ceremony in 1951. However, an adequate treatment of such material would be too lengthy for inclusion in the present paper. 764

In brief summary, a corpse is washed and dressed in its best garments, wrapped in a blanket or placed in a coffin and buried, usually in a hole dug for the purpose. The ceremony, consisting of a dance borrowed from the Paiutes and songs from the Mohaves, both arriving via the Walapai, is held for one or more nights, depending upon the prestige of the deceased and the desire of the survivors. Gifts of clothing and personal property of the dead person are buried with the body or burned. His house is abandoned temporarily or permanently or is torn down and sometimes rebuilt on another site. A house may occasionally be burned, but this was not reported for recent years. A horse or two belonging to the deceased is shot and a few fruit trees may also be cut down. Leslie Spier (personal communication, 1957) notes that crops formerly were destroyed on the owner's death, for they were considered personal property. [177] [768]

Intermittently, memorial services similar to the funerals have been held about a year after death, but this custom has not been fully established among the Havasupai. In the same communication, Spier pointed out that "a memorial service, held for a single dead man or a group, at intervals of a year or longer, is characteristic of all the lower Colorado Yumans, the Walapai, the southern California tribes, and those northward through the San Joaquin valley. It was possibly derived by the Havasupai from the Walapai, indeed, probably was so derived." Such a memorial service seems contradictory to the Havasupai desire to forget the dead because of their ghost fear, and this may explain why the custom has not become more popular. In the case cited, the deceased was a favorite son. [114] [171] [765] [769]

A widow cuts her hair short but wears no special clothing. Relatives of the deceased observe a name taboo for about a year after the death, and other people are careful not to remind them of the dead so they may forget quickly. To speak the name of the dead would be to call him back to his relatives; in his loneliness he might seek to take a relative with him to the land of the dead. Survivors sometimes dream of a dead relative, and a shaman may have to sing over the dreamer to drive the spirit of the de- [551] [787] [755]

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574 almost dark, she could see in the distance the outline of the mountains of the San Francisco peaks and nearby to the north the Canyon of the Colorado and to the west the Canyon of the Havasu. The flood had lasted so long that Pu-keh-eh had grown to womanhood. Seeing the water gone, she came out and began to weave baskets and make pottery as her father had taught her before the flood. She was very lonely and longed for her father, but she had to live alone a long time in the dark dismal world.

Many months of darkness had passed but one morning the darkness began to disappear and in the east a faint brightness appeared. The maiden knew that the triumphant sun was coming to conquer the long night and bring light into the world. During the time of waiting for light the girl had a great longing for a child. But where was a father for her child? There wasn't a man in the world.

When the sun rose in the east she decided he should be the father of her child. She conceived and in the fullness of time bore a son whom she called the Son of the Sun.

As time passed she again longed for maternity. Later Pu-keh-eh had a daughter. When these two children grew up they married and thus became the progenitors of the human race. The Havasupai were created first, then the Apache, the Hualapai, the Hopi, the Paiute, and last the Navaho. Tochopa told them where they should live. The Havasupai and Apache were to stay in Cataract Canyon, the former on one side of the creek and the latter on the other side, and occupy the country east to the Little Colorado and south to the San Francisco mountains. The Hualapai were to remain in the country west of Cataract Canyon, the Navaho, and Hopi east of the Little Colorado, and the Paiute north of the Big Colorado.

For a long time the Havasupai and Apache lived together in peace, but one day an Apache man saw a beautiful Havasupai woman. He fell in love with her and longed to take her for his wife; but she was the wife of another. He finally called upon Hekomata, the wicked god, to help him. Hekomata, always glad to make trouble, told the Apache to pay no attention to the restrictions placed upon him by Tochopa, but to go to the home of the woman and kill her husband, then take her for his own wife. The Apache heeded this evil advice, killed the man and took the woman for his own. When the Havasupai discovered the crime that had been committed and the disgrace this Apache had brought upon them, they counselled together and decided to drive the Apaches from the Canyon. No longer should they be one people. They commanded the Apache people to leave, but the latter refused to move. The Havasupai then set upon them and drove them far to the south. Although they were originally brothers, there has been a feeling of enmity between them ever since.

771 Religion is only slightly developed and occupies but a minor place in Havasupai life. "Ceremonialism is meager and interest in the supernatural is neither comprehensive nor developed in systematic form."⁽¹⁾

[753] Prayers are addressed to the earth, sun, rocks, trees, wind, and water. When praying to the sun a man draws his hands down over his face as he blows to brush the evil away.

776 Every human has a soul in his heart which leaves his body at death, but not when he dreams or is unconscious. The soul of the dead may appear as a ghost; in a short dark form. Usually only shamans see ghosts, or rather, their familiar spirits pursue them at night and give account of their conduct; occasionally others see them. If a ghost appears to a person it is an evil omen—a member of his family will soon die or he may meet with an accident. Ghosts are said always to be

775 forebears of evil; anyone seeing or hearing one will immediately be-
769 come sick. Children and some older people are afraid to go about alone

(1) Spier, Havasupai Ethnography, p. 278.

THE HUALAPAI

after dark, especially near a graveyard, which is dangerous at any time, for fear of encountering ghosts. ⁷⁷⁵ [769]

Souls of the dead are said to go to the north where they live much the same as here on earth, but what the hereafter is like or its location may be is indefinite, even among the oldest members of the tribe. Objects such as rocks and trees have no souls. ⁷⁷⁶ [774]

Spirits in distinction to souls, are limited. In almost every case they are *shaman's* familiars. No one has seen a spirit, but every *shaman* claims to have one within his chest. When he wants to find out something he sends his spirit out for awhile—probably a day and night. When he goes out into the night, his spirit is heard yelling to him from a distance. His spirit reenters his mouth and makes peculiar noises, and talks. The *shaman* closes his eyes and appears to be singing, but in reality it is his spirit relating what it saw. The distinctive qualities of the spirit are not usually described, but those specified include, a hawk, a wolf, and the spirit of the mythical being who made the deer. A *shaman* sings over a child subject to fainting spells and finds that when his mother was first pregnant she heard a hawk calling. The child has a spirit in him; it is the hawk. In some cases the *shaman* carries off the hawk spirit and the child lives. ⁷⁷⁶ [755]

Although the Havasupai address their prayers to the earth, sun, rocks, trees, wind, and water, spirits are not generally localized. ⁷⁷⁶

A long time ago the mythical people created spirits and put them somewhere, so one can dream of them, get them, and thus become *shamans*. Spirits are not about in the trees, rocks, wind, but one is in an ever-flowing pool of water located in a side canyon beside the Colorado River in the Hualapai country. The pool has a rough rock wall around it. When people look down on it from the rim of the canyon, the water wells up although it is not hot. Scattered about are arrowheads, shell beads, and deer bones with incised decorations, probably placed there by some prehistoric people. ⁷⁷⁶ [759]

A number of mythical beings are referred to in legends, especially *Pagiyoga*, who draws souls into the sky, and *Pagiyova*, who makes people live after they die. The latter is said to be the white man's God. However, these are not prayed to nor do they address the cultural heroes in prayer. ⁷⁷⁶ [782]

Spirits are the cause of illness, with the exception of a few minor ailments due to natural causes, failure to observe taboos, or because of evil magical practices. It is thought that after a *shaman* dies he may send his spirit into the body of some man who in an improper manner may imitate his songs. That, the creator of deer sent his spirit into the hunter who carelessly killed the animals; and that, the spirit of the hawk enters the bodies of unborn children. ⁷⁷⁶ [75]

Among the Havasupai there are *shamans* who cure disease, those who set broken bones, treat wounds, fractures and snake bites, and *shamans* who study weather conditions and claim to bring rain. Apparently all three types dream, but only those who cure have familiar spirits. Men only can become *shamans*. ⁷⁷⁶ [762]

Shamanistic power is obtained by dreaming or by inheritance. Some men dream of rain, lightning or thunder, they also dream of a song to make rain, then they use that song and become weather *shamans*. Others inherit their power from a maternal uncle or grandfather. ⁷⁷⁶ [767]

The rattle of a *shaman* is a dried gourd mounted on a wooden shaft which extends entirely through it. A collar is cut on the handle and a buckskin thong wound around the protruding end of the shaft so it will not come off. Holes are drilled in the gourd to allow the fibrous structure inside to drop out so the sound will not have a muffled tone. ⁷⁷⁶ [734]

When a *shaman* is called in by a relative to cure some member of the family he arrives and performs at night. He sings over the patient while he holds the clenched knuckles of the left hand against the patient's forehead, and in his right hand he holds the rattle and slowly twists his body from one side to the other. He sucks out the ⁷⁷⁶

he danced, and later saw it in the fire when the clothes were burned.

[The foregoing straightforward description of a comparatively recent Havasupai funeral was recorded with no attempt at interpretation by Smithson. The songs and dance steps all are of Mohave origin, adopted by the Havasupai through the Walapai. Yet, such ceremonies, as well as the annual mourning rite, continue to be a serious, deeply emotional part of Havasupai religion.]

Dances

[Spier (1928, 261-9) described three dance formations for the Havasupai: the round dance, more social than religious; masked dances, probably in imitation of Hopi kachina impersonations; and the Mohave version of the bear dance.]

Our informants confirmed the correctness of Spier's (1928, 261-5) description of the round dance, and we can add but little data. Most of the songs were those invented by Teyadjáwa although others were learned from Navajos and Southern Paiutes. The favorites to this day are those of Teyadjáwa and Gátágama. These are sung first and, if completed before morning, Paiute verses may be sung. Navajo songs are no longer part of the repertoire.

Certainly since at least the beginning of the 20th century (Bliff, 1954, 175; Spier, 1928, 261) the round dance has been identified with the so-called peach or harvest dance held late in August or early in September. There are some hints that at the time, the performance still contained a residue of ghost dance elements even though it probably antedates that nativistic movement (Spier, 1928, 266; James, 1903, 252-5). Apropos of this, an account in The Arizona Graphic (Anon., 1899), gave a brief note of the ceremony:

"The Yava-Supais have an annual religious dance... and few white men have ever witnessed it. Superintendent McCowan [in 1899 at the Phoenix Indian School but in 1895 agent to the Havasupai] says he was a spectator at one of these ceremonies, but did not sit the programme through. The dance was seemingly interminable. The participants kept up a monotonous but energetic action, circling about a pole, to which was attached some 'medicine.' A chief kept spurring them on, and as they fell from exhaustion they were dragged from the ring and fresh dancers took their places."